Two Sub-Countries

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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GANDHI AND MARX

VII

The difference between the philosophies of Gandhiji and Marx manifests itself in their political and economic ideas. Marx puts forth the theories of class-war and its end through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, expropriation of land, mines and other material sources of wealth, State-capitalism, nationalization of industries, and regimentation of life and labour. As against this the Gandhian theories are those of *varnadharma* (or performance of class duties), *satyagraha* and arbitration, decentralization, trusteeship and as much individual liberty and democratization as possible in social life.

A careful examination of the theory of class-war will show that the solution suggested by Marx to put an end to it is crude and ultimately doomed to fail in achieving its end of establishing a classless society. It is like murdering or dethroning a king and placing the murderer in his place under the title of President, and calling the change a 'revolution'. Ultimately the net result is no more than a change of hands. A few changes and improvements in the system and order of life may take place in the beginning, but after a brief period it would be found that there is no permanent and substantial change in human relations except to the extent there has been a general rise in the moral character of the people. A new ruler and his aristocracy, a new staff of officials, a new set of favourites and a new section of the middle class replaces the old. The mutual relations among them on the one hand, and between them all and the toiling masses on the other, are very much the same as those existing before the 'revolution'. Under new designations the authoritarian power of the ruler and his council, the military power of the actual commander of the forces, the controlling power of the actual possessor and manager of land and wealth, the technical power of the expert and the power of physical work of the labourer continue as before, establishing the same class divisions and giving rise to similar conflicts of interests as before. If the Tsar's rule had become tyrannical and absolute and could be put an end to only by violence, a particular Dictatorship of the Proletariat on becoming unbearably so, would have to be liquidated by the same method. There is no guarantee that the Industrial Workers' Dictatorship may not become a caste of as tyrannical, imperialist and intriguing exploiters as that of the Tsar and his nobles or the capitalists. A true classless society is possible only if there is almost no permanent division of functions, and all people take part in almost every act necessary for life. But in a complicated society, such as we live in, even with a decentralized economy, it does not seem possible to have a state of classlessness. What can be achieved as best as possible is class-harmony. And this is possible only to the extent men and women have become good, truthful, loving, simple, self-controlled, respecters of life, anxious to serve and make happy the people over whom they exercise authority and honest workers of their respective callings and functions in society. In a society of such men there will be all-round prosperity, peace and harmony and absence or minimum of conflicts and disputes. The essential conditions of happiness are (i) that men are moved with a sense of duty in their various functions and not by the motives of profit, pleasure, or fulfilment of ambition; and (ii) that they regard themselves as trustees of that which is vested in them, whether it be property, authority, office, learning, technical knowledge, muscular energy, or guardianship of children, invalids, prisoners or other dependents. Then they will render an honest account of their stewardship, not exploit their position of vantage for selfish purposes, and take no more reward out of it than what is consistent with the ideal of a real classless society, where every one gives to the best of his capacity and takes no more than what is both just and necessary for his own maintenance consistently with the means of society.

If these two conditions are fulfilled the external form of political, social and economic order of a society is not of the utmost importance for making the system beneficial to the people. An apparent monarchy and capitalist society might be better than an apparent rule of elected *panchayats*, nationalization of agriculture and industries and controlled distribution. Neither the first nor the second is an end by itself. It is of importance only to the extent of

creating a helpful environment for raising the character of the people. Gandhiji concerned himself more with the basic factors and less with the apparent forms of Government and organizations.

A young worker, who after eight years of active association with Communists, has recoiled from it recently spoke to me to the following effect:

> "I turned back from Marx, because I found that he holds class-war, i.e. conflict between two opposite interests or forces as an essential condition of evolution. Apart from the fact that this theory of evolution has been exploded by modern science, it means that according to Marx the cult of hatred is essential for propagating class-war. Since hatred is a passion — a mental deformity — and not a perfect development of reason and sentiments, his doctrine is based on and requires deformation of the mind for its success. Can such doctrine ever be a philosophic or scientific 'ism'? Moreover, it is impossible for a human being to forget his or her human instinct of love for the whole of his life and live on a diet of hatred. No one can remain a demon till the end of his life. I am, therefore, surprised when those who speak of *sarvodaya* try to put their ideas in conformity with Communism, and speak of nationalization of industries, establishment of classless society etc., but seem to have lost sight of the principles of trusteeship and *varna-dharma*, which Gandhiji laid emphasis upon. I wonder if they have fully grasped the implications of the principles of *Sarvodaya*."

I think that the young man's remarks deserve careful consideration.

22-3-'50 K. G. MASHRUWALA

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RECENT ACTIVITIES IN SPINNING

Spinning Clubs

Lately the Charkha Sangh is devoting all its attention and energies in organizing spinning clubs throughout the country. Since the last Charkha Week about 500 spinning clubs have come into existence and several more are under formation. The idea underlying the spinning clubs is to attack the problem of village poverty at the root. The increasing lure for money has blinded man to the fundamental principle of self-sufficiency and he has actually lost confidence in its possibility. *Khadi* has tried to check this and restore to the villages a small fraction of the wealth that is being dragged away into the cities from the villages. But it cannot, as such, prevent the immense flow of wealth that follows the mill cloth. This is the task for the spinning clubs to perform by making villagers self-sufficient in their clothing requirements.

When Gandhiji first preached the principle of *Swadeshi* to the nation, it came to it as something rather new. So also the principle of self-sufficiency appears to villagers as novel, though Gandhiji said nearly 30 or 40 years ago, "*Khadi* work should be carried on with the ultimate aim of self-sufficiency and it can be achieved through *charkha* alone." Hence the principle of self-sufficiency was most discussed and deliberated upon in the conferences of spinning clubs held during the last three months.

The question is often asked why the Government does not prevent the exploitation of the villages by the cities through legislation. There is a genuine desire amongst the people that this village exploitation should be stopped. It is for Congressmen and political leaders to see what they can do in this matter. But it should also be remembered that law alone cannot achieve this object. Production of *khadi* is equally necessary for it. The Charkha Sangh is therefore paying more attention to the production of *khadi* and its ancillary processes from cotton growing to weaving. Experiments are conducted to achieve self-sufficiency in processes such as ginning, manufacture of *charkha*, sliver-making, weaving etc. It is gratifying to note that the A. I. S. A. has been able to enlist the co-operation of several true and genuine workers in this direction.

Cotton Self-sufficiency

A cotton committee has been appointed to study the question of cotton self-sufficiency and to devise a plan accordingly. The Chairman of the Committee, Shri Dadabhai Naik, is making a tour in various provinces, at the end of which he will prepare a plan for growing cotton in different provinces. The report of the Committee is expected before the breaking of the monsoon.

Carding-piece

A small apparatus for carding which can be attached to the ordinary spinning wheel in place of the spindle-piece has been devised to solve the problem of good slivers. Last month a class was organized at Bardoli to work upon this new

carding-piece. The model which has met with the approval of the technicians is simple, costing Rs. 5. It will card baled cotton at the speed of 3 tolas per hour.

Bamboo Charkhas

From 4th March 1950, a class has been started at Sevagram to teach the manufacture of the *charkha* from bamboo. Provincial representatives will be trained in it till the end of March.

Weaving within Five Weeks

As announced previously, the classes will commence from April 25, 1950 at Mul (Dist. Chanda, Madhya Pradesh) and Bardoli (Dist. Surat, Gujarat). The details of the training and the form of application can be had from the office of the A.I.S.A. Sevagram, Wardha (M. P.) on sending postal stamps of 2 annas.

Khadi Camps

It has been decided that Shri Kanu Gandhi will conduct *Khadi* Camps of 3 to 15 days for teaching spinning, repairing of tools, manufacture of bamboo *charkha* etc. The first camp will be held in the current month. Subsequent camps will be organized after the Sarvodaya Samaj Conference in Utkal.

Khadi Conference

Along with the Sarvodaya Samaj Conference in Utkal, a *Khadi* Conference will also be organized. It will detail information about the various activities of the Charkha Sangh. There will also be a conference of branch secretaries and regional organizers for deliberating upon the programme of work for the next year.

Alongside the conference, competitions will also be held in various processes of *khadi*. Rules and regulations for the competitions can be had from the office by sending postage stamps of 4 annas.

All-round Centres

It has been decided that the Sangh should pay more attention to *khadi* for self-sufficiency than to that for sale. The production of *khadi* for sale should be supplementary to and for achieving the aim of self-sufficiency. With this end in view, the organization of 'all-round' centres where every process of *khadi* production is carried out is considered more desirable than maintaining sale-depots catering to the needs of distant places or divided production centres doing only a part of the production of *khadi*. Such centres will enable workers to get themselves trained quickly for the purpose of self-sufficiency. They will help the local development of *khadi* work. Such centres will be opened where suitable workers and other facilities are available. In Maharashtra, three centres were opened last year. Centres will be opened from 31-3-'50 in Tamil Nad and Andhra also. It has been decided to amalgamate the Tamil Nad and Andhra Khadi Bhandars in the city of Madras, so that henceforth the workers of both the provinces will work together.

(Translated and abridged from *the Hindi A.I.S.A. Bulletin*)

ASHRAM ACTIVITIES

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

II

Agriculture

This department of Ashram activities owes its very existence to Maganlal Gandhi. But for him I would not have had the courage to take up agriculture at all although an Ashram without it would be something like Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. For we had not the requisite skill and environment for it as I thought. Agriculture is a very big undertaking and would call for a lot of land, money and man power. I was afraid that it would distract our attention from other necessary things which could be done and would not wait. But Maganlal was insistent and I yielded to him. 'Let me do it,' he said, 'if only for my own diversion.' Maganlal hardly ever argued with me. He thought it his duty to carry out my ideas. If he did not understand them or if he disagreed, he would tell me so. If even then I stuck to my plans, he would take it that they were correct, and execute them. In fact he believed that an Ashram without agriculture was something not to be thought of, and he would have had to make out a case for his belief. Instead he put forward the supreme argument of love and the Ashram launched upon agriculture. Most of the trees in the Ashram were planted by Maganlal or at his instance.

I still have my doubts about agriculture. Even today I cannot claim that it is a full-fledged Ashram activity. But I am not sorry for what little cultivation of the soil is done in the Ashram. A considerable amount of money has been sunk in it. It is not possible to show that it is self-supporting. However I am inclined to think that this much farming was necessary for the Ashram. No farming, no Ashram, for it must grow its own vegetables and fruit as far as possible. Indeed later on Maganlal took a vow that he would restrict himself to the use of Ashram-grown vegetables. An Ashram should acquire the capacity to grow its own food grains and grass for the cattle. It may not carry on agricultural research, but an Ashram without its farm would look like a face without the nose.

The Ashram farm is only in an experimental stage. It has not much to teach anybody. It is intended to impart only an elementary knowledge of agriculture. At first there was not a single tree in the Ashram, but now there are many trees, planted with a view to their utility. Vegetables are grown as well as some fruit and fodder. Nightsoil is used as manure with satisfactory results.

Ancient ploughs are used as well as modern improved models, water is pumped from wells by methods which can be followed in villages. We are rather partial to ancient implements which are suitable for the poor farmer. They

may be susceptible of some slight improvement, but nothing definite can be said about it, as the Ashram has not the time to apply its mind to the subject.

(*To be continued*)

(*Translated from Gujarati* — by V. G. D.)

HARIJAN

April 2 1950

TWO SUB-COUNTRIES

My article *All-India Unity* (12th March) has provoked criticism from esteemed correspondents. It is generally on the same lines as that taken up by *The Bombay Chronicle* (13th March, 1950) in its editorial article *Futile Suggestion*. It disputes particularly the correctness of two of my several propositions. I shall deal with the first this week. It is :

> "Bharat and Pakistan, though politically two independent sovereign States, together constitute one 'All-India' and one fatherland of all the people living in either of the two sub-countries."

I have stated nothing new in this except for using the word 'sub-country' to describe the territories of each of the two States.

That Bharat or Indian Union and Pakistan together constitute All-India is a statement which should not have appeared strange to any one familiar with the names All-India National Congress, All-India Congress Committee, A.I.S.A., A.I.V.I.A., All-India Hindustani Talimi Sangh and similar other institutions. How, after all, should one designate the combined territory of India and Pakistan (along with its French and Portuguese areas) except by that familiar small compound 'All-India'? The adjective 'all' though not quite essential then has become very meaningful now, since both the words India and Bharat, which described the whole region before, have now come to be adopted for only a part of it. Some refer to the whole region by the word sub-continent. On account of its great magnitude, it may well be referred to as also a sub-continent in its relation to Asia. So too may be said of China and Siberia, both far greater regions than ours. But if one is asked, what is the name of this sub-continent, what shall we say ? Since no new name is given to it, All-India, as it used to be called, is a correct description.

That All-India constitutes one country and is the common fatherland of the people of both Pakistan and Bharat is also just a truism. No one ever called this into question before the partition, and even now every book on History and Geography will have to treat the whole as one country, and the people as belonging to one country.

The existence of several sovereign States is not a new phenomenon in our country. Before the British became supreme, there were several of them at the same time. Even during the British regime French and Portuguese Indias were parts of different sovereignties, however small the parts might be. That did not make French and Portuguese *Indias* separate "countries". Even as we spoke before of British India, States India, French India and Portuguese India, so we might say today Pakistan India and Bharat India. State is a political term, country is a geographical one. Aden was once a part of India politically, but could never be so geographically. East Pakistan and West Pakistan together constitute one State politically, though geographically they are different regions, and if each were to be called a 'country' then Pakistan would be a State composed of two countries. But no one thinks that it is so. And were it not for the fact that All-India is the common fatherland of the people living in both the sub-countries, neither India and her people, nor Pakistan and her people would feel much concerned about the safety of the minorities in either of the sub-countries. But they are felt as part of us, and so, though the migrations cause so much expense, worry, dislocation of normal life, congestion, suspension of all plans etc., the gates of each State are kept open for those who want to take shelter in it. But for the communal hatred which has been raging in parts of both the States, whether the number of sovereign States in All-India were one or five, any severe misfortune in any part of Pakistan would evoke all those sympathies and philanthropic activities which one in, say, Madras would do in the hearts of the rest of the people. The present cult of hatred, even if it takes the form of a violent war for a time, must not make us lose sight of the fundamental unity of the entire nation irrespective of their creeds and castes. The Hindu, Sikh and Muslim Jats might have quarreled frequently, but that did not make one community regard another as foreigners. Except for a brief period of the British regime, inter-state wars were not a strange feature of our country. But even that did not make the residents of one State regard those of another as foreigners. A brother might become an enemy but he is not a foreigner ; a man of a distant land might be a close friend, but is a foreigner. If the resident of different Indian States had been foreigners to one another, it would not have been possible for Sardar Vallabhbhai to bring about the union or merger of several States into about twenty units. The fundamental geographical unity of the region and the natural relations and intercourse among the residents of the various States made this unification possible.

If the first plan of the Cabinet mission had not been set aside, politically there should have been even now an All-India Federation. If Sardar Vallabhbhai had not succeeded in bringing

about Unions and mergers of States, politically the constitution of India would have been a Federated Union. States and the forms of their constitutions are created and uncreated by political exigencies, and boundaries get shifted for political and administrative convenience. These things will go on happening perhaps every year in one part or another of our vast country. Such changes cannot alter the mutual relations of the people concerned, unless they persist for very long periods and are accompanied with permanent environmental changes in every small matter of every day life.

The conclusion is that political arrangements must be distinguished from facts of nature, and the natural fact is as stated in the first proposition.

20-3-'50 K. G. MASHRUWALA

"SARVODAYA" MEMORIAL AT PHOENIX

On Wednesday, February 15 over 600 people gathered at the Phoenix Settlement to see the Gandhi Memorial Building opened by Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru, the leader of the Indian Delegation.

It was in a small wood-and-iron dwelling in the then wilds of Inanda that Mahatma Gandhi had nearly 50 years ago conceived the idea that it was peace, brotherhood and non-violence that would save mankind, declared Pandit Kunzru, addressing the gathering from the verandah of what was virtually Gandhiji's own home, rebuilt "in its original form," in the sugar cane and banana fields that were the 1903 scenery when the Mahatma began to study Ruskin, Tolstoy and Thoreau there. "It was the study of peace and non-violence here," said Pandit Kunzru, "that made him internationally famous in later years. It was here that he conceived those great ideas that he took to India." He ended by hoping that the cottage would be used "to get the life and truth for which he died, so that this may be a temple for future generations."

In Chapter XVIII (Part IV) of his Life Story Mahatma Gandhi describes how he was given the book Ruskin's *Unto This Last* by a friend. He says: "The book was impossible to lay aside. It gripped me. I determined to change my life in accordance with the ideals of the book........(Of the books that I had read), the one that brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation in my life was *Unto This Last*. I translated it later into Gujarati entitling it *Sarvodaya* (the welfare of all)".

The Memorial Building is named Sarvodaya. We feel that this name is the most appropriate because it was this book that had made Gandhiji transform his life.

(*Abridged from Indian Opinion*, 17-2-'50).

HINDU LAW REFORM

Q. 1. Is the present Parliament of Bharat competent to enact the Hindu Code Bill?

A. 1. I am not competent to express an opinion on this to the extent it is a question of law. I find that there is a difference of opinion about it even among eminent jurists. The ruling of the Parliament or, if necessary, of the Supreme Court (if it is the right authority to give it) shall have to be abided by in the matter. If the present Parliament is held to be incompetent to proceed with the Bill, of course it will have to be dropped. I have expressed my general approval to the principles of reform underlying the Bill on the assumption that the Parliament is competent to enact it.

The argument that the members of the present Parliament are not morally justified to proceed with this Bill, because at the time they were elected, the electors had not the Hindu Code Bill before their eye does not appear to me convincing. It must be understood that when the old Legislative Assembly was abolished and its powers were transferred to the Constituent Assembly, all the powers of the preceding legislature got vested in the new body, and it cannot be said that this Bill was not pending before the previous legislature. Moreover I understand that the party-rule has been suspended in respect of this Bill and this should be regarded as sufficient.

Q. 2. You have said that the adoption of a religion should remain "a pure matter of personal choice of the form of worship and pursuit of truth." How can then a State which claims to be secular interfere with the religion of one particular community? Marriage has been regarded as a sacrament in almost all the religions, requiring performance of prescribed rites and ceremonies. These should not be interfered with; for those who do not believe in any of the accepted religions, there can be a separate law.

A. 2. The English word 'religion' or the Arabic word 'mazhab' has been for some years past mistranslated by the Sanskrit word 'dharma', and this has led to a good deal of confused thinking. A 'religion' or 'mazhab' is an institution accepting the authority of a common and definite founder or 'revealer' and a definite scripture as a 'revealed book'. In that sense there is no such thing as 'Hindu Dharma'. The proper Sanskrit synonyms for 'religion' or 'mazhab' are *sampradaaya* (Church or sect), *mata* (opinion or creed), *patha* or *maarga* (way or path), *anugama* (following). Only if we do not restrict *dharma* to the sense of a religion, may we group together Vedic, Jain, Buddhist, Brahmo and similar systems under the head 'Hindu Dharma'. In this wider sense the word 'culture' has lately come into use in the English language. It means a bundle of ideas, modes of thinking, customs, traditions, social institutions, literature, art, etc., of a common type. When Hindu Dharma is interpreted

to mean only Vedic religion, Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs and others hesitate to call themselves Hindus. The controversy as to who are Hindus and who are not would not arise if *dharma* is understood in the sense of 'culture'. For then there is no doubt that Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists have several things in common with the followers of the *Vedas*. The declaration that India is a secular state means that it does not recognize any particular 'religion' or 'Church' as State religion and will not attach any importance to the religious beliefs of its citizens. That does not mean that it is a State with no culture. Religious freedom means freedom to worship (or not worship) God in any manner the citizen chooses. But rules of marriage, succession, inheritance, etc., are questions of social and civil laws and matters of culture and may be distinguished from the manner and form of religious worship. Reforms through legislation in this field cannot always be regarded as interference in religious matters.

It is argued that marriage is a sacrament to be performed according to rites and ceremonies prescribed by a *dharma*. The statement means that (a) among the many different groups of Hindus there are some rites and ceremonies which are common to all. So too are among the followers of different sects of Islam and Christianity; and (b) besides these common rites, there are also rites and ceremonies, which vary from place to place, sect to sect, caste to caste and even family to family. They are regarded by the people concerned with the same respect and adoration as the rituals of the *shastras*, but law does not regard all of them as obligatory for the validity of the marriage.

This sphere of *dharmic* (cultural) rites and ceremonies has always been encroached upon by reformers; e.g. the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj have their own separate rites and ceremonies. Gandhiji also made changes in it from time to time. Under his inspiration, Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar and Shri Vinoba had prepared once a booklet of essential ceremonies. Later he made radical changes even in these. Thus in the matter of rites and ceremonies of marriage there is no uniformity in Hindu Dharma. Part II of the Hindu Code Bill should be regarded and welcomed as trying to bring uniformity and order in marriage rites. The Bill does not illegalize performance of additional ceremonies or rites and cannot therefore be charged with interfering with *dharmic* rites.

In matters of succession etc. also it is desirable to have a uniform law for all citizens. I accept the plea that in these matters no distinction should be made between Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and Parsis. I understand that succession is governed by the law of Confucius in China. It differs from Muslim and Christian rules of succession. Should any family desire to divide the property according to Muslim or Christian rules it is at liberty to do so by private arrangement; but in the event of their resorting to a court of law, the latter will follow only the law of Confucius. Whether or not this information is correct, it is reasonable that it should be so.

Q. 3. Is there no difference between sacramental marriage and civil marriage? Are modern legislators competent to make changes in the *dharmic* form and lay down new forms?

A. 3. If we cease to be blind worshippers of the past and to ignore the present, the right of every generation to make reforms as and when necessary in laws relating to transfer of property, succession, adoption, marriage etc., would never be questioned. There was a time when transfer of immovable property was accompanied with the performance of a sacrifice in the presence of respectable persons of the place. The same persists still in respect of marriage, adoption etc. These formalities were meant to ensure that such dealings were not carried out in secret but duly publicized after mature deliberation and concurrence of the people. The same object underlies the modern formalities of duly signed, sealed and attested documents and their compulsory registration. We have accepted a uniform law for the country in respect of transfer of property even to the extent of dispensing with ritualistic rites altogether. The same analogy should apply to marriage, adoption and other transactions.

Under the old system the preceptor, the *kazi* or the priest were the officers accepted both by the people and the State. The present day officers are designated magistrates and registrars, but they perform the same function as preceptors, *kazis* and priests. Smritis of Manu and others, *Dharma Nirnaya, Nirnaya Sindhu, Mitakshara, Vyavahara Mayukha* were codes of law or commentaries, which governed these matters at different times and places. That there are a number of Smritis and interpretations, shows that the necessity of making reforms and amendments was always recognized. The belief that legislators and writers of the past were omniscient and extraordinarily pious, while those of the present day are all men of ordinary vision and poor calibre is an example of the adage 'familiarity breeds contempt.' Among various types of heresies we should also include want of faith in the present and the future and unreasonable glorification of the past. The preceptors, *kazis*, priests and others who perform our rites and ceremonies are not always men of character, or even learning. But we have associated their ill-understood and often mispronounced formulas, incantations etc., with religion, but refuse to do so with those of magistrates and registrars, and so hold the former to be sacramental ceremonies and the latter as secular ones. We must learn to respect the latter as we respect the former. How far a person regards an act to be serious and a pledge of honour depends upon the development of his

character. People lacking it break the sacramental pledge as readily as they do the legal one. Let us always look at the substance and not the form.

Q. 4. Are you not aware that several eminent leaders, judges, lawyers and religious heads have opposed the Bill, and regard it as uncalled for?

A. 4. Yes, and I am aware that equally eminent leaders, judges, lawyers and religious men have supported it. So, when equally great men are divided in opinion, it becomes the duty of the ordinary man to use his own discretion and form his own opinion.

17-3-'50 K. G. MASHRUWALA

THE WORLD TODAY

The world today has but one main problem: to give work, food, shelter, justice and freedom to all. This has not been solved by the West with its capitalism and state-socialism; and as democracies are not able to create a better social order the unemployed and the hungry in despair will turn to radicalism and communism. This will lead them into more slavery, not into freedom, but they cannot see this in advance.

The key to solve the economic and social problems is money. Today and since long monetary management and construction have three main defects.

1. Inflation and deflation mean a change in the level of prices and by this a change in the purchasing power of money. This has always disastrous effects. For one year past all over the world the banks issuing "money" try to "correct", as they say, inflation by deflation. In India as well as in the United States of America they try to bring down the level prices. This is about as wise a cure as the following:

> A car drives over a man and hurts him. They say: "This is bad; this should not have been done. Let us make it good again by re-adjustment. We drive backward over the man once more; then we are where we have been before the accident — we have readjusted and everything is alright."

Inflation is bad. Deflation is worse. Economists admit this, and they fool themselves in calling this 'small deflation or re-adjustment' a 're-inflation'. The bad effects are exactly the same. They bring depression, under-consumption (not over-production), unemployment, radicalism, communism, war. Therefore, every country should try to stabilize the value of its money at the present level. Every price level is relative. In India prices today are about 400 per cent of pre-war level; wages but 200 per cent. If you try to reduce the prices the effect will be about-like this: Prices may go down to 380 per cent. but wages to 150 per cent, because unemployment will increase and press down the wages quicker than prices can follow. If on the other hand we secure the level of prices and by this and other means stimulate and increase production, then wages will rise by and by and finally reach and overcome the level of prices. This is the only possible way to adjust wages to prices. Therefore Government and Reserve Bank should give an official declaration and obligation for stabilization for ever. This would secure the necessary monetary foundation of a sound economic and social future.

2. *The rate of exchange.* The second great mistake of economists all over the world is this: They fix the rate of exchange by artificial bureaucratic means and try to keep it as long as possible. If necessary they try to move the level of prices, to reduce prices to get again the balance with foreign trade. A very silly and disastrous attempt. Commonsense will see at once the solution worthy of scientific thinking:

> Stable price-level in our own country and free rate of exchange to every other currency. The rate of exchange has freely to fluctuate to get necessary adjustments, not the price-level has to fluctuate. With every country of stable currency the rate of exchange will have the tendency to become stable itself, and the necessary small fluctuations will help to regulate the trend of import and export without bureaucratic and ineffective or disastrous interference. With countries of unstable currency and price-level the free rate of exchange will adapt itself to the economic facts.

These two changes in the monetary policy of national currency banks can be made at once. They would be a great help in giving security to production and business and to savings and investments. For the start this might be enough but to construct real working money of stable value for centuries we shall have to complete by a third improvement.

3. Money as a perfect means of exchange needs a motor for ready secure circulation. Money is the blood of economic life, and if money is hoarded and refuses to work, to buy or invest, then the economic life cannot be sound. If money would be recalled from time to time, may be every year, and exchanges for the new issued money with some discount, this would force money hoarders and the profiteers of black market and unsound speculation in their own interest to let the money circulate freely. This would be a somewhat revolutionary change in monetary management and construction. Money would come under full control. It would become a real servant of only point to such possibilities and necessities. For the beginning the stable price level and free rates of exchange might bring the necessary improvement in the management of money for the present days.

The political dangers of revolutionary changes and of war, the tensions between U.S.A. and Russia are a result of the unsolved economic and monetary problems. If a country will make new proposals of practical value, how really to give work, food and freedom to all, this would turn the political attention on a new goal and possibility. Russia as well as America would listen with great surprise.

Finally a new idea! To help both the capitalistic as well as the communistic countries! The plan explained above could become the synthesis of both extremes, the middle-way of common sense! In many countries there are men working in this line. In Switzerland my friends are members of Parliament, and we have some good influence upon Government and National Bank of Switzerland. In Germany the movement for the same monetary improvements, having been suppressed by Hitler, is growing again. In Japan I had the privilege of speaking about such proposals to Commissions of the House of Councillors of the Japanese Parliament on 19th December 1949. They put down the level of prices about 7 per cent and the result has been: more than 1 million unemployed. Communism is getting the crop of it. In Germany the deflation from 1929 to 1933 put seven million out of work and by this Hitler into power. After this, war could not be avoided any

more. Such are the results of monetary mismanagement. If any country would take the lead and put new proposals to discussion it would get help from many quarters around the world.

India is now free. There are new men in Government, and they are not handicapped by old routine work or dangerous relations. This would be worthy of the life and teachings of the Great Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. War and violence never can bring real solutions. It is only the spirit of truth, of understanding and kindness that can see the defects of our present system and can create a new and better order. It is my strong hope that the new and free India will be a strong power in bringing peace on earth.

Mankind is at the cross-roads. Today New India has its freedom. What will it do with it? If it does *not* solve its social problems in the spirit of justice and freedom then it will go the way of China: to crash, dictatorship, communism, war. If it will solve its heavy problems and this only can be done in the line of truth, of Freedom, of Free Economy, then it will lead the world to peace. This is your great chance and responsibility.

WERNER ZIMMERMANN

(*Outline of talk at the Rotary Club* in Calcutta on Tuesday, the 7th February 1950).

THE SECOND SARVODAYA SAMAJ CONFERENCE

As was decided at the last Sarvodaya Conference at Rao, the second Sarvodaya Samaj Conference will be held at Angul (Dist. Dhenkanal, Utkal) from the 6th April to 13th April 1950 both inclusive. All registered members of the Sarvodaya Samaj are requested to attend it.

The present conference will be marked by a novel feature that this time there will be conferences of other all India constructive bodies also, as per following programme:

6th — Charkha Sangh or *Khadi* Conference

7th — Village Industries Conference

8th & 9th — Talimi Sangh or Nai Talim Conference

10th — Session of Sarva Seva Sangh

11th to 13th — Sarvodaya Conference, also

12th & 13th — Conference of Goseva Sangh and the Hindustani Prachar Sabha.

All the above Conferences are open to members of the Sarvodaya Samaj.

The *Khadi* Conference will begin from the morning of the 6th April. All those intending to attend the Conference should reach Angul on the 5th April.

All candidates intending to participate in *khadi* competition are expected to reach Angul before 6th April.

(*From Hindi*)

VALLABHSWAMI
Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh

SCHOOL BOARDS OPPOSE IT

School Boards in Gujarat have not welcomed reintroduction of English in Standard VII and have expressed their view in the form of a resolution. The following is its English rendering:

"The Government of Bombay, Education Department, have issued G. R. No. 7900 dated 22-12-'49 regarding the policy of abolishing English in Secondary Schools. Therein it is made incumbent upon Primary Education School Boards to open classes for teaching English in seventh standard of primary schools, if fifteen students ask for it. As a result, this will mean that English will be introduced as a compulsory subject in Primary education where it was never before.

"Again it is a question whether it would be possible for School Boards to start such classes at all.

"Moreover, it will spoil the whole experiment of seven years of compulsory Primary (Basic) Education.

"The Bhise Committee appointed by Government to consider this whole question had rightly put a note of warning against such retrograde step and had also rightly recommended to go ahead by strongly adhering to the sound policy (enunciated in 1948) of abolishing English in the first seven standards of Primary Schools; and Government was requested to adhere to it.

"Therefore it is resolved that,

"(1) Government should adhere to its own policy adopted in 1948 and it ought not to take the retrograde step of introducing English.

"(2) If more study of English is desired, it should be provided for in the eighth standard where secondary education begins; e. g. Coaching classes etc. may be started there. However nothing in this regard should be begun in the seventh standard either voluntarily or in any other manner.

"(3) School Boards ought not to be asked to start classes for English in the seventh standard."

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